1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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which our aborigines do not hesitate to make, that before the Europeans landed in those parts of the American continent, they were unacquainted with that shameful disorder which attacks generation in its sources. I am well aware that this complaint is generally believed to have been communicated by the new world to the old. I do not know upon what proofs this opinion rests, but I am disposed to give credit to the uniform assertion of our northern Indians, that this contagion was first introduced among them by emigrants from Europe. However it may be, it is a lamentable fact that they are now very generally infected with it, and that their population can not long resist its destructive operation upon their once strong and healthy constitutions, particularly as it is associated with the abuse of strong liquors, now so prevalent among them.

Of the manner in which they have acquired this latter vice, I presume there can be no doubt. They charge us in the most positive manner with being the first who made them acquainted with ardent spirits, and what is worse, with having exerted all the means in our power to induce them to drink to excess. It is very certain that the processes of distillation and fermentation are entirely unknown to the Indians, and that they have among them no intoxicating liquors but such as they receive from us. The Mexicans have their *Pulque*, and other indigenous beverages of an inebriating nature, but the North American Indians, before their intercourse with us commenced, had absolutely nothing of the kind. The smoke of the American weed, tobacco, was the only means that they at that time had in use to produce a temporary exhilaration of their spirits.

I have related in a former chapter,* the curious account given by the Delawares and Mohicans of the scene which took place when they were first made to taste spirituous liquors by the Dutch who landed on New York

* See ch. 2.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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622 are moved neither by fear of men nor of God; fortunately there are few such.

[273] Strong drink occasions much disorder in the Indian towns.[266] If a chief is himself an abstainer, he may accomplish much against this evil, but he must be ever watchful and not tire in his efforts.

[428] At the death of a chief neither his children, wife, nor relatives inherit his possessions. Everything is distributed among the people except the wampum and belts, which belong to the chief in his official capacity, and the Council Bag. These are preserved and turned over to his successor in office. In general, some person who lived in intimacy with the deceased chief, and is well acquainted with the affairs of state is chosen to be his successor. It is generally agreed that such and such an one is the right person to assume the dignity of chief. If he is discreet and wins the favor of the captains and the people, the former in particular, will support him in every possible way. A captain, such as White Eye[267] was, is the Chief's right hand. He must undertake everything ordered of him by the chief, even at the hazard of his life. To show fear would not be in harmony with his dignity and a disgrace. If he is wounded or killed by the enemy, the whole nation joins in avenging his death, taking injury done him as seriously as if it concerned the person of the chief. This the captains are aware of and it gives them courage.

624

728 A captain has no more right to conclude peace than a chief to begin war.[268] If peace is offered to a captain, when he is in the enemy's country, he can give no other answer than that he will bring the proposal to the notice of the chief, for as a warrior he cannot make peace, and that in due time reply will be given. If the chief inclines to peace, he, as it were, assumes his office again, exerts his power, takes the matter out of the hands of the captain and desires him to sit down, which signifies declaring a truce. The hatchet is taken out of the captain's hand and he is obliged to cease from hostilities and keep his men quiet. The chief knowing that inactivity is not agreeable to the captain, asks his assistance in the negotiations and generally chooses him to be the messenger of peace to the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Trade with Europeans is carried on usually on the basis of fixed price, both as concerns goods and pelts. The Indians trade their deer, beaver, otter, raccoon, fox-skins, wild-cat-skins and others for goods which the traders often take a considerable distance into the Indian country. If they can deceive the whites, they do so with pleasure, for it is not easily done. They are delighted, also, if they succeed in purloining something. They are fond of buying on credit, promising to pay when they return from the chase. The traders may be willing to take the risk, hoping to control all that they catch. But if the Indians, on their return, find other traders in the country, they barter with them and trouble themselves no longer over their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended, for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving goods away for nothing. Usually traders learn from their losses to give nothing or but little on credit. This is the safest course and there is no danger in arousing the enmity of the Indians. When war breaks out the traders are the first in danger, not only of losing their property but also for their lives. When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret and take as many goods upon credit as they can get; as soon as the war breaks out all debts are cancelled.

The Indians trade much among themselves, especially the women, who deal in rum, which they sell at exorbitant prices, which occasions much disorder. Indian traders usually demand high prices, knowing well that unless the buyer were in great distress, or fully intent upon closing the bargain, he would rather not deal with them. Indians when really anxious to obtain anything will pay almost any price. If they are in need of corn they will give goods or pelts in exchange for it. Frequently, the chiefs have prohibited the sale of strong drink in their towns, but it is always brought in in some manner, against which the chiefs are powerless to protest. For instance, they may appoint a sacrifice of rum, in which nothing but rum is used. This the chiefs cannot hinder owing to established custom. When once the Indians, who gather in large numbers for such a sacrifice, have tasted the strong drink but have not satisfied themselves, they will go to the old women who deal in liquor.

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273 438 The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breech-clout. For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns—for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, 439 callemanco,[297] knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles, — these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything — bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.

535 If the young are at home and not on the chase hardly a night passes without a dance. The women, who always follow the men, dancing in a circle, act with decency and becoming modesty, as if they were engaged in the most serious business. Neither laughing nor levity are to be noticed and they never speak a word to a man, for this would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot after the other slightly forwards then backwards, yet so as to advance gradually. The men shout and leap and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Whatever man acts in the oddest and most ridiculous manner is the most regarded. They dance in a circle around the fire. Often in the midst of the dance they will all hold their heads forward over the fire, stand bowed or leap and stamp, singing all the time; suddenly they stand erect again and move forward. They make all manner of unusual movements to show their agility and skill. They have no other music than the drum. When one dance has been finished the one who beats the drum sings and beats until another begins. There is always a leader whom all watch carefully and follow. They have various kinds of dances, some acquired from the other nations.

526 The young men often wrestle to test their strength. The one thrown is not angered but admits the other to be his master. Another mode of testing strength is in trying to lift some large stone, or throwing a stone of considerable size the greatest distance possible.

525 Nine-pins, ball-playing and cards they have learned from the whites. The Indian game of dice is the most popular of

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will.

At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions.

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice there are many of less importance, for individuals arrange them on their own account. They invite guests and prepare a feast of deer or bear's flesh. The guests consume the whole meal, the host and his family being mere spectators. At the great feasts all who are present partake of the food. Each individual may offer sacrifice for himself when engaged in the chase, in order that he may be successful. Having cut up a deer and divided it into many small pieces he scatters them about for the birds and crows that sit about on the trees waiting. Retiring to some distance the Indian will then amuse himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. Another may offer to his *Manitto* for some other reason. Corn is said to be the wife of the Indian and to it they sacrifice bear's flesh. To the deer and bear they offer corn. To the fishes they bring an offering of small pieces of bread shaped in the form of fishes. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night he immediately throws some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words at the same time. Then they promise themselves success for the next day for the owl is said to be a powerful spirit. In dreams, they claim, it has been made known to them what creatures to regard as their *manittos* and what offerings to bring to them. Such

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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572 table and crosses his legs and requests then of the
574 food on the table which he fancies. But when one
516 gives strong drinks to the savage, either wine or
[271] brandy, which he desires greatly, one must take
273 care not to give him too much, for then he becomes as though he were quite raving, throws and rolls himself into the burning fire, with a loud cry, and may then easily strike his good friend to death or otherwise set fire to the house, not knowing what he does; for he is not accustomed to such strong drinks. His daily drink is with the goose,[4] which holds his five senses together.

572 574 But when now the Christians come to the savages in their dwellings then the savages spread frieze and beautiful rugs on the ground, requesting them to sit down to rest. Then they bring forth such food as they have [on hand], namely a
[262] bag full of their bread, deer meat, elk meat and bear meat, fresh fish, bear pork and bear fat,[5] instead of butter; but this[6] is mostly raw, for they do not fry it any other way than on the coals (about which we shall learn further hereafter in the chapter concerning the household economy of the savages). This present one must not disdain, but accept with all thankfulness and praise, otherwise the savages will become very raving and impatient, so that their friendship is thereby turned into the greatest revenge and enmity. If one has any horse along, then the savages place the same kind of food before it also, which one must steal away from the horse, and thank the savage for

[4] His daily drink is the same as that of the goose, that is water.
[5] *Björnsisler.*
[6] Food, *i.e.*, meat and fish.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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the root, in the stump of which they dig out a round hole and thus make a mortar which is suited for the purpose and in which they pound all their grain to meal.[4] And then they bake their meal into small loaves as large as a small cheese,[5] in which they use a kind of berry like currants. Nor do they use any other bake-oven than the embers. The ashes they use according to the manner of the birds, to clean their stomach with, as the birds do with sand instead of salt, therefore they are not so particular, if their bread gets to be a little ashy. They have just recently begun to buy a little salt of the Christians, but they do not know how to use it otherwise than to chew a little of it at a time, like other costly spices.[6]

[273] To brew ale or distill brandy, that they cannot turn their hand to. In reference to the frying by the savages [it is to be noted] that they know no other manner of doing it than to cut for themselves slender spits of wood, pass them through the meat or the fish, stick the spits down into the ground, and turn the meat or the fish near the fire.[7] When it now may be about half fried on the one side, then he turns the other side to the fire and when it is half fried on both sides, so that the blood still remains in it, then he considers it most wholesome and best to eat. In reference to the cooking of the savages [it may be stated] that they have

[4] Cf. Van der Donck and other Dutch writers of the early 17th Century, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, II, III.

[5] Perhaps six or eight inches in diameter.

[6] The natives apparently did not season their food with salt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 418 ff.

[7] See illustration facing page 253. The natives of Africa smoke and roast their fish in the same way.

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
154 position."[52] The institution of blood-
627 revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for
562 aggression, the overflow dribbled off in unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
● 273 solved the inhibitions against aggression.
578 "The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

[#51 (A)]

D
439 make anything on this article, wash tubs and washboards, coffee mills and household articles, calico and muslin goods. The chief take in was in the jewelry of which large and flashy assortments were exhibited, some of it looking extremely well; salt pork, flour and bacon were also offered. The trading, however, was not brisk, and I think was pretty much a failure, the reason being that Wyandotte and Kansas City are within easy reach, where they can buy cheaper and at their convenience. The
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[181] trader's chance lies in the weakness of the Indian before temptation, and his slight
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452 regard for money. As the payment was de-
443 layed more than a day beyond the time, I noticed some of the Indians commenced moving up to book account in advance, which the traders favored. I saw two of them this afternoon arranging [?] payment in the Indian tents, and getting it, and I have no doubt doubling the amount in footing it up, or increasing it largely. They have to pay for a trader's license $25 to the agent, and unless they speculate in some way, they must make a failure on their sales.

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273 I saw no whisky nor ardent spirits of any
657 kind, and consequently no drunkenness or quarrelling. After it is all over tonight and the payment is over, and the government strikes its tent and moves off with the wagon marked U. S. and the small file of soldiers sent to protect the specie, the whisky will show itself, and the pockets of the remaining Indians who have any money will be picked. There were more white men around today than looked well for the Indian women.

S
648 *Shawnees Uncles to the Chippeways, etc.*

Buraseau told me that years ago the Ojibwas, Pottawatamies and Ottawas took the